132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

[131] These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October. [217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

[134] There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage. [133] Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 71% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 133 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life.

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government.

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (koseki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self.

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each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce.

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A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6.

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

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The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace.

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Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers.

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

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seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

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Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

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Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

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Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

178 423 311 [217]

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

423 [888]

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

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The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. How an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

178 423 311 428

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

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One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (aaku), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

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In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

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The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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592 The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (zenkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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213 The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632 Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zeisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423] The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622] The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

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631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

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647 The administrative organization of the township consists of five departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." •

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

• Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof.

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese.

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring.

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce.

maintaining tax records. The major departments within the 'son' office are 632
General Affairs, Economic and Financial, School Affairs, Agriculture and Industry, Public Welfare and Social Affairs, and Land Affairs. The organization of the staff and the composition of the various departments are not consistent from 'son' to 'son', much depending on the size of the township, but in all cases the same functions are performed. The office staff also includes a chief accountant or statistician and a servant-janitor. The entire staff is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the 'son' assembly. Once a person secures such a job, he is rarely discharged except for gross incompetence or misbehavior; consequently, there is a very slow turnover of office personnel except among the young girls employed as clerks.

Next in importance only to the functions of the treasurer is the General Affairs Department ('shomuka'), which is responsible for the keeping of census data and the household registry ('koseki'). The latter is a record of particular importance to all citizens. A 'koseki' is a registry of the households (families) within the 'ku'; thus, in Kanegusuku-son there are eight 'koseki' for the eight villages within the township. Every individual is regarded as a member of a family, and every family has a place of permanent residence where its 'koseki' is kept with the others of the community. The 'koseki' for a family lists all members of the family or household beginning with the former household head ('koshu'), followed by the household head. Each member is listed according to his relationship to the head of the house, and also included for each person are birth order, parentage, birth date, marriage, divorce, place of residence (temporary and permanent). When a person dies, leaves the family or community permanently, marries (in the case of women only), or sets up an independent house of his own (males only), his or her name is crossed out in the 'koseki' of that family. When a woman marries, her name is crossed out in her father's and is entered in that of her husband or his family. When a younger son marries and sets up an independent house, his name is also removed from his father's household, and a new household record is begun with himself as head. The names of those who have died or have permanently left the community are entered in a record called 'joseki' (literally---removed from registry) which is a listing of all those names which have been removed from the household registries. Persons who wish to have a copy of their birth record and family affiliation secure a certificate called 'koseki shōhon' ('koseki' copy) which is an abbreviated 'koseki' listing the individual concerned and the household head. Everyone is theoretically listed in a 'koseki' somewhere, and without this one cannot secure government employment, enter school, or leave the country. Nevertheless, in every municipality and particularly in the urban ones there are a number of persons who live illegally unregistered; these persons are called 'musekisha' (persons without registered domicile), and they are said to be a source of concern to officials and police. In Kanegusuku-son there are three such individuals (known to 'son' officials) who are the offspring of American servicemen and Okinawan mothers. The mothers are said to be too embarrassed to come in and register the children, and the officials are hesitant to press the matter lest the mothers suffer any more anguish; however, unless the children are registered, they will be unable to attend school. In addition to these records the General Affairs Department also maintains an important registry of seal ('han') impressions which serve as the equivalent of legal signatures in American life. 632 217

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An [648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women, [777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.